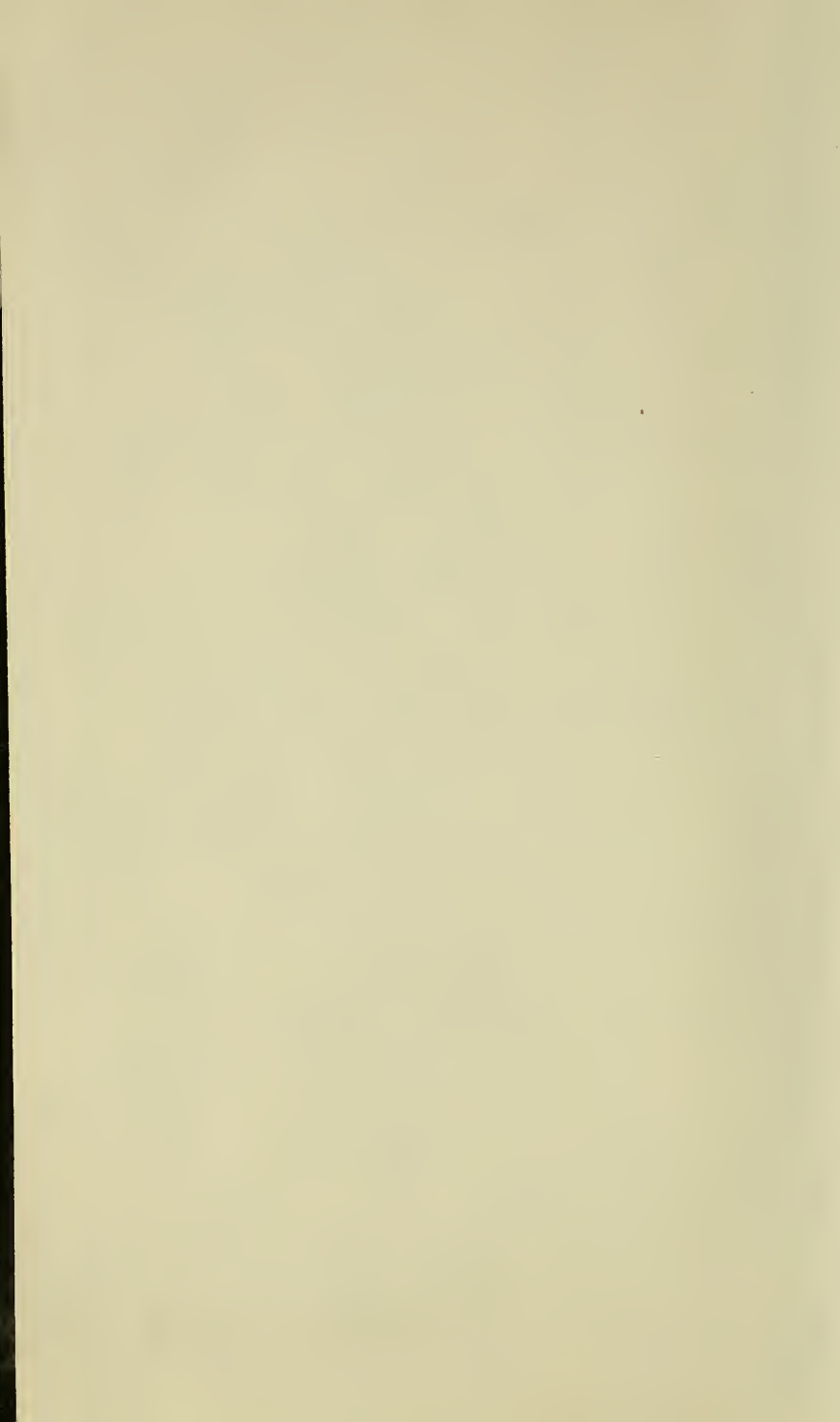


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“ACROSS THE FLOOD”



ADDRESSES AT THE DINNER
IN HONOR OF
THE EARL OF READING
AT THE LOTOS CLUB
NEW YORK, MARCH 27TH, 1918

"ACROSS THE FLOOD"

THE RIGHT HONORABLE
THE EARL OF READING
AT
THE LOTOS CLUB
NEW YORK



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IN the course of his address The Earl of Reading transmitted to the American people through the Lotos Club the following cablegram from The British Premier, The Right Honorable David Lloyd George:

“We are at the crisis of the war, attacked by an immense superiority of German troops. Our army has been forced to retire. The retirement has been carried out methodically before the pressure of a steady succession of fresh German reserves, which are suffering enormous losses. The situation is being faced with splendid courage and resolution. The dogged pluck of our troops has for the moment checked the ceaseless onrush of the enemy, and the French have now joined in the struggle. But this battle, the greatest and most momentous in the history of the world, is only just beginning. Throughout it French and British are buoyed up with the knowledge that the great republic of the West will neglect no effort which can hasten its troops and its ships to Europe. In war, time is vital. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of getting American reinforcements across the Atlantic in the shortest possible space of time.”

FIRST drink a health, this solemn night,
A health to England, every guest;
That man's the best cosmopolite,
Who loves his native country best.
May Freedom's oak forever live
With stronger life from day to day;
That man's the true conservative
Who lops the mouldered branch away.
Hands all round!
God the tyrant's hope confound!
To this great cause of Freedom, drink, my
friends!
And the great name of England round and
round.

* * * * *

Gigantic daughter of the West,
We drink to thee across the flood,
We know thee most, we love thee best,
For art thou not of British blood?
Should war's mad blast again be blown,
Permit not thou the tyrant powers
To fight thy mother here alone,
But let thy broadsides roar with ours,
Hands all round!
God the tyrant's cause confound!
To our great kinsmen of the West, my
friends,
And the great name of England round and
round!

Alfred Tennyson.

BEFORE thee, the array,
Blest Island, Empress of the Sea!
The sea born squadrons threaten thee,
And thy great heart, BRITANNIA!

* * * * *

To tyrant kings thou wert thyself the slave,
Till Freedom dug from Law its deep foundations;
The mighty CHART thy citizens made kings,
And kings to citizens sublimely bowed!

* * * * *

Behold thy glory trembling to its fall!
Thy coming down the round earth shall appal,
And all the hearts of freemen beat for thee,
And all free souls their fate in thine foresee—
THEIRS is THY glory's fall!

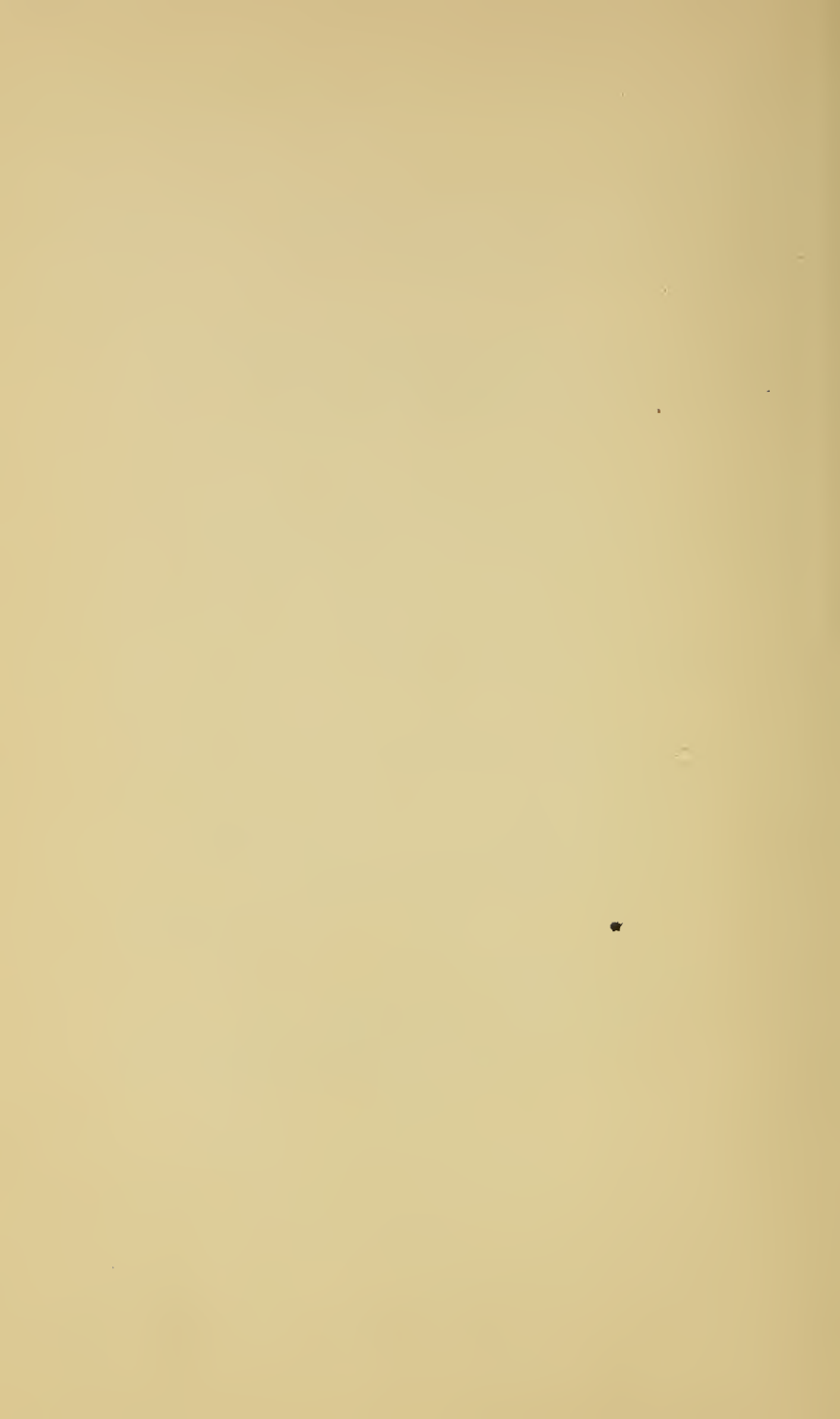
One look below the Almighty gave,

* * * * *

“And who,” said HE, “shall lay mine England low—
The stem that blooms with hero deeds—
The rock when man from wrong a refuge needs—
The stronghold where the tyrant comes in vain?
Who shall bid England vanish from the main?
Ne'er be this only Eden Freedom knew,
Man's strong defense from Power, to Fate consigned.”

God the Almighty blew,
And the Armada went to every wind!

*From “The Invincible Armada,” by Johann C. F. von Schiller.
Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton's translation.*



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ADDRESS BY
FRANK R. LAWRENCE
President of the Lotos Club

MY LORD, YOUR EXCELLENCY AND GENTLEMEN OF THE LOTOS CLUB: I remember that one day, some fifteen or twenty years ago, in the Royal Courts of Justice in London, a friend of mine, a very active barrister, pointed out to me a somewhat younger gentleman, arrayed like himself in wig and gown, and said, "There goes a future Lord Chancellor."

The gentleman to whom my friend referred sits beside me to-night, your illustrious guest, the Lord Chief Justice of England.

The office which he holds, the highest purely judicial office in his country, has existed from time immemorial. I believe there is ancient and historic precedent for the temporary laying aside by the Lord Chief Justice of his judicial functions in time of war, and

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although his Lordship whom we greet this evening has not placed himself at the head of an army, as one of his early predecessors in the time of William the Conqueror is said to have done, it is not in his judicial capacity, but as the Ambassador of his King, that he comes to this country at the present time, and the Lotos Club is privileged to-night to welcome not alone the Lord Chief Justice, but His Excellency the Ambassador of Great Britain, united in one and the same person.

He is thrice welcome: welcome as the representative of a great power to which we are closely and I hope forever allied; welcome because of the unbounded respect in which we hold his character and attainments, and welcome because his presence among us is an inspiration to hasten and redouble our efforts for the success of the war, in which for almost four years his country has unshrinkingly borne a tremen-

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dous share, but which we have only just begun actively to enter.

From the beginning, this war, to resist the aggression of a brutal despotism and prevent its recurrence, has been America's war quite as much as England's war, only its scene has been from three to six or seven thousand miles away. New York, Chicago, San Francisco, unlike London, Paris and the English coast towns, have not seen the enemy air craft in the sky at midnight, and had their women and children murdered in their beds. And thus we have not realized until lately our true relation to the war; but we should not be forgetful of the long struggle already passed through by our glorious Allies, and least of all should we forget the great fleet lying somewhere in the northern ocean, which not only has formed their chief bulwark, but during the greater part of the time and until our country began to awake, has

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formed the principal protection of New York and other American seaports against the attacks of a ruthless enemy.

This club has never taken any part in political or governmental affairs. True to its name, it has pursued the even tenor of the Lotos path, oblivious of the outer world. But a situation now exists in which every man—yes, and every woman—must do everything possible to help save and preserve our liberties, or else be false to our country in its time of need.

There was a time, down to about a year ago, when we felt bound to tolerate such expressions as “pro-German” or “pro-Ally” as indicating the attitude of individuals toward the war; but the moment the Congress of the United States, under the leadership of our President, decided that we should enter the war, the time for such milk and water terms passed by, though we still sometimes hear them used.

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To-day every man or woman owing allegiance to the United States is either an American or a traitor!

There is no middle ground, and the more swiftly and sternly this fact is recognized and given full effect, the better it will be for us all!

It was a source of great delight to me a few evenings ago, at a meeting in honor of the Lord Archbishop of York, to hear a reverend gentleman, well known to all of us, deprecate in the strongest manner any more talk about peace at the present time. He said, "We don't want any more statements of our war aims. Our only war aim now is to win the war."

It seems to me, gentlemen, that the only way to win the war is to follow the example of our arch enemy, and organize, every man and woman of us, concentrate and organize, as Germany has done.

Let us lay aside everything, forget

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everything but the one stupendous task of winning the war, concentrate upon that, put into it every ounce of strength we possess, every man we can muster, every ship we can build, every pound of munitions or of food that we can supply, and let us lose not a minute in doing it.

In this way, and—we may as well look the situation squarely in the face—in this way only, and with our Allies all doing the same thing, in this way only can this war be won and the world be saved from the curse of German domination.

Somewhere about a year ago, our dear old friend, Mr. Choate, in appealing to this country to do its full share in the war, ended with the words, “and, for God’s sake, hurry up!” He knew the urgency of the situation, and saw what was to come. In the time that has gone by since that cry rang out from the depths of a great heart, very much

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indeed has been accomplished, but, oh! the precious, priceless time that has been lost! And this, too, in a cause where time is vital; where the difference between haste and delay may make all the difference between glorious victory and unthinkable shame!

Surely we can no longer cherish illusions. As we sit here and dine, the battle rages furiously. We have entered upon a long, hard struggle, the outcome of which no man can yet foresee. Thus far America has thrown little of its power into the scale. Let us without a minute of needless delay pour into it the whole of our might. The stake is all that we hold dear, our freedom, our civilization, the welfare of our children and of their children. Let us omit nothing. Let each reverse make our determination to win more inflexible, and for the ultimate result let us put our trust in the righteousness of our cause and the justice of Almighty God.

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And now, gentlemen, to our guest. This club has been honored by the presence of many great Englishmen. But it has never been more greatly honored than to-night, and it is with unbounded pleasure that I ask you to rise and join me in drinking to the health of His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador, His Excellency the Earl of Reading.

ADDRESS BY
THE EARL OF READING

MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR EXCELLENCY AND GENTLEMEN: At the outset of my observations permit me to thank you with all my heart for the cordial welcome and reception which you have been good enough to give to the toast proposed to you. I accept and recognize it with supreme gratification, as testifying your good will to the country which I have the honor to represent.

You, Mr. President, have said in felicitous terms that I am here, not in the capacity of Lord Chief Justice of England, but in that of His Majesty's Ambassador. As Lord Chief Justice it is my duty—and there are some here who know it as well as I—to sit, to listen and to be silent until the moment for pronouncing the decision comes. As Ambassador, I speak as one untutored yet in the region of diplomacy, with all to

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learn. I have always understood that an ambassador should make but few speeches. He is always in danger of saying something more than he ought, and never is free from the peril of saying something less than is expected of him. But I am here, gladly and proudly, to-night as your guest because my country is one with you at the present moment. We have now been engaged in war for a long period. We have struggled ever since August of 1914. We are still struggling and we shall continue to struggle until the end has come.

It is well, Mr. President, that we should face facts. I do not believe that either you in this country or we in ours are ever the worse for knowing the facts, even though they may be unpalatable. We have had during the last few days conflicting currents of anxiety which have no doubt stirred you as they have stirred our people to the depths.

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We have an enemy who has concentrated his attacks upon our forces with the object of driving us to a surrender of large bodies of our troops and to break our lines so as to compel on our part the acceptance of a peace at the dictation of Germany.

The attacks have been heavy; we have been driven from positions which we held. The enemy has been enabled, by withdrawing masses of troops from Russia, assisted by the artillery which he has got, not only from there, but also from Austria, to fling them upon the part of the line which was held by the British troops. Heroic deeds have been performed; acts of prodigious valor have been accomplished daily. Many of them, alas, must remain unsung; but in the end the epic will be written which will, I verily believe, be the record of one of the glorious chapters of British arms. Our men have been compelled to give ground in consequence of sheer

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weight of numbers of men and guns. If you read the stories that are daily appearing in your press, you will know some of the deeds which our people have been called upon to perform. I shall not enumerate them, for the best of all reasons, that I know not the details; they have not yet been chronicled. But I do know, and I have no hesitation in saying to you, speaking as I do as an Englishman and as the representative of my nation, that we have withstood the attacks of the enemy and have held our line under circumstances which may well redound to the credit of any nation called upon to submit to like attacks. In particular, what has held our people together is the dogged determination, the grim tenacity, of our people. When speaking of it I will, if I may, Mr. President and gentlemen, read to you a message received by cablegram to-day from Mr. Lloyd George, our Prime Minister, to me, with the inten-

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tion that I should read it to you and through you to Americans. He says:

“We are at the crisis of the war, attacked by an immense superiority of German troops. Our army has been forced to retire. The retirement has been carried out methodically before the pressure of a steady succession of fresh German reserves, which are suffering enormous losses. The situation is being faced with splendid courage and resolution. The dogged pluck of our troops has for the moment checked the ceaseless onrush of the enemy, and the French have now joined in the struggle. But this battle, the greatest and most momentous in the history of the world, is only just beginning. Throughout it French and British are buoyed up with the knowledge that the great republic of the West will neglect no effort which can hasten its troops and its ships to Europe. In war, time is

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vital. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of getting American reinforcements across the Atlantic in the shortest possible space of time.”

Mr. President, possibly it is difficult for you and the members of this club, and indeed the American people—with all your sympathy and with all your sensitiveness—to understand exactly our feelings, who have been in this war so long; who have lost so many; who have all suffered, and who are all anxious at the present moment as to the lives of those who are doing battle on the front at this moment. It is difficult, indeed, to picture to yourselves what all this means to us; but you are about to learn it. You have your troops now in France, you are sending constantly more and more troops, you are taking your part in the line. You are preparing now for any onslaught which may be made upon you. You will have to

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bear the same kind of suffering which we have had to endure. You will not shrink from it, as we have not shrunk from it; you will not flinch from sacrifice as we have not flinched from it. You will do your duty—I believe in my innermost heart—as we have tried to do ours.

I am not minded, Mr. President—and I could not if I tried—to speak to you to-night in the ordinary manner of an after-dinner speaker. I do not believe it was your intention when you invited me to be present this evening. I believe that you wanted to hear from me as the representative of a country which is fighting in the same cause as yourselves, something of what was happening “Over there,” in France, where our fortunes are engaged. These are the days of realities. These are the days of grim earnestness. These are the moments when men understand that life is real and that there can be no play.

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These are moments when we realize more and more that ideals are worth striving for, that they are worth sacrifices, that lives must be cheerfully spent if they help to attain those great ideals which tend to make humanity noble.

When we consider the present situation, we, Mr. President, and you, if I may say so, must be careful lest we overestimate the effect of withdrawals. In considering whether or not the enemy is successful we must first of all have clearly in our minds what his aim is. It is, as you know very well, to break through our lines and consequently to crush all resistance. Nothing else is of real moment. If the line is not broken, if the line still holds, then there is nothing vital that has been gained by the attack.

And it is of the utmost importance that we should never forget to count the cost to the enemy of any success he may have had. I notice General Von

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Hindenburg has said that the first act is ended. There have been bell-ringsings, flag-wavings and decorations in Berlin. But those who are experienced in the theatre, from which the simile is drawn, would tell you that it is unwise to exchange congratulations until the curtain is rung down upon the last act.

It is not the first success that matters so much; what will matter is the end. Your President has said in the message transmitted by him to Field-Marshal Haig that he was confident, and I believe he spoke for the American people, in the ultimate victory. It is that ultimate victory which will be the final act, and then will be the proper moment for the exchange of these congratulations.

We are now being assisted, as appears from the Prime Minister's cablegram, by the French. We are fighting together; once more we are withstanding the shock of the hordes of Germans driven across to our lines, as comrades

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—indeed, as brothers. For all their heroic and valorous deeds no one can speak in sufficiently high terms. I will not attempt to distinguish, because I do not believe it possible, the valor of the British and the French who are fighting together. They are aiding each other as men of valor, and there is an Eastern proverb which says that a man of valor is the help of God.

And now, Mr. President, as this fight continues, let me remind you that there is a quality in the British people which you know so well,—having, if I may be permitted for once to remind you, had common ancestors of British stock,—which ensures that when once they have made up their minds, when once they have set their will and purpose, they will hold on to the end, they will never give way, and in this instance there is the added force—the strength of which it is difficult for men to gauge—that they know that their cause is just.

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Our men are like yours, in the main not trained regular soldiers—men who were civilians, just as yours were, only a little while ago, and who did not think that they would ever be called upon to don a military uniform. All sections of the community joined with us originally in volunteering their services, for it was only at a late stage that we had to have recourse to conscription. All sections of the community are now soldiers doing their share, and it is indeed one of the marvels of the day, that there should be so many men who perform deeds which were thought to be associated with the few, but which nevertheless are the product of the proud heritage, I believe, of our common stock—deeds which are the result of an inborn valor and of a fixed determination which knows not the meaning of giving in.

Mr. President, I think now of the efforts that will be required before this

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struggle is ended. Do let us remember, as we have tried to remember it in my country, that it is not only courage and enthusiasm for the war that are required; it is the effort of every man and woman in the country. Everything that human ingenuity can bring to bear on this struggle must be accomplished. All resources which can be organized and mustered for the common purpose must be brought together and must be used. All that men can do must be done. That is the lesson we have learned. It is the lesson we are trying to teach our people. It is the lesson, I believe, which must be learned everywhere in war; for, Mr. President, this war is a war in which it is idle to speak as if certain nations only were involved,—it is a war in which the very sacred principles upon which humanity is based are at stake.

It is incalculable what the results would be if, indeed, we were to fail.

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We cannot fail, because if we did, humanity would stagger and be crushed. But I do not for one moment contemplate a possible failure. I see before me, speaking for my countrymen and our Allies, the assistance which is being given, and will continue in ever-increasing magnitude to be afforded us by this great republic. When at this moment I think of what I have seen and heard and read during the few days in which this great struggle has been continuing, in which this great and momentous battle has been waged, I am indeed encouraged; and I have felt justified in telling them in England how stimulated they should be by all that I have witnessed here.

Can there be a doubt as to the bearing of this great battle upon the United States? Let me answer by reading to you some words of an editorial in one of your leading newspapers:

“To-day we are following the for-

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tunes of Haig's troops as if they were our own. And they are our own. Every man of them is fighting our cause. Every man of them has died for our liberties."

And it is that spirit, which I notice with so much gratification, that I have ventured to communicate home to England.

Mr. President, I feel I ought to say to you that I have not made the speech, perhaps, which you expected. Will you forgive me—the speech I had intended to make I could not make. My mind has traveled for the last few days with all of our forces, with all that we hold dear in France. It is saturated with all that I have read and all that I have heard from there. I cannot speak to you of anything but the struggle of the moment. I cannot address you upon any subject but one which fills my thoughts. I believe that I should be wrong if I attempted it, and that in truth I am right

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in speaking to you as I would speak to my own people if I were in England.

It is very largely the welcome which you are good enough to give me, the real satisfaction which I believe you feel in the British Ambassador's presence here, that has tempted me to speak to you as I have done to-night. I have not sought in any way to minimize the events that have happened. I believe it is right that we should recognize their importance, and that we should understand them, and whilst not exaggerating, that we should realize their full effect, but at the same time that we should not be dismayed. To-day and this evening, Mr. President, the news we have received is an encouragement and gives an indication of what is to happen next.

I speak for my country when I say to you in conclusion that we have no fear, we have no doubt, we are not shaken in our faith, we are as resolute as ever,

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we are determined that come what may we will fight on as we are fighting for liberty, that which is dearer even than life itself.

Together, Mr. President, you in America and we of Great Britain and the Allies can do so much, now that we are closely associated, that no human being, however great his foresight, can in my judgment measure it. I have stood from the first moment staggered at the immensity of the problem when striving to picture to myself what you and we together can accomplish—you with your ideals, with your great traditions of liberty, with your battles ever for liberty and for liberty alone—we with our traditions, with our past history, with our clarified vision, with our ideals, the same as yours. We can now walk with you in the path which all with great ideals would wish to tread. Together we can secure almost all that is worth having; together we can ac-

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comply much that hitherto seemed impossible. Together we can work for liberty, for democracy; together we can maintain the peace of the world.

In my view, Mr. President, there is nothing greater in the world's vision, at the present moment, than your great nation and mine assembled together, fighting for the common cause, shedding our blood together for the common ideal, determined together to win a common victory, struggling and striving with all our might and main, not for aggression of any country, not for any dynastic victory, not to make one sovereignty greater than another, but that we may together pursue the path of peace, of justice, of liberty, that in the end it may be said that we with our Allies have done that which seemed impossible,—we have managed to secure peace for humanity and for the world.

PRESIDENT LAWRENCE: *The Lotos Club thanks His Lordship for his most magnificent and inspiring address. And, gentlemen, some of us here can go back and remember the time, more than fifty years ago, when the terrible storm of Civil War swept across this country like wildfire, and we know that one of the finest products which it brought forth was a group of men called "War Governors." There were John A. Andrew of Massachusetts, Andrew G. Curtin of Pennsylvania, Oliver P. Morton of Indiana, Edwin D. Morgan of New York and others whom some of you can still remember. And as a great part of our contribution to the present war New York has brought forth a great War Governor. I believe it is the fact that of all the men demanded of this great State of ten or eleven million people, every man called for by the General Government has been ready at the hour appointed; and this is due, in greatest measure, to the energy and the efforts of one whom we have long known as a brave and high-minded public official, His Excellency Charles S. Whitman, Governor of the State of New York. I have the pleasure to call upon Governor Whitman.*

ADDRESS BY
HONORABLE CHARLES S. WHITMAN
Governor of the State of New York

MR. PRESIDENT AND MR. AMBASSADOR:
MI know that you will all agree with me that we are better men and better Americans for having listened to this great speech of this great representative of a great country to-night.

The people of our State are very glad of this opportunity to express their pleasure at the action of Great Britain in sending us the distinguished guest of the evening, the British Ambassador to the United States of America.

We are gratified to have as the representative of the great English speaking people of Europe one who brings to the support of his high office such equipment for service. His knowledge of affairs in Europe, his views on the relation of the individual to the Government, and the obligation of the Government to the People, his ideas of

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right and justice as revealed in the opinions handed down as the head of one of the greatest legal tribunals on earth, as well as his inborn principles of democracy, as exemplified in every act of his distinguished career, give assurance of the harmonious coöperation between our allied governments which is essential to the successful completion of the great task remaining before us.

Americans desire your countrymen to know, Mr. Ambassador, that we have a keen appreciation of the enormous burdens which Great Britain has carried through this war, the tremendous and indescribable sacrifices which she has made, and the service which she has rendered not only America but all mankind in saving, for she has thus far saved, a civilization which is the development of centuries of democratic growth and experience, and toward which the faces of free men all over the world are turned to-day.

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Had not England determined to stand upon the integrity of her treaties, for the sound principles of morality, which should govern all nations in dealing with their neighbors, and for the preservation of national honor, freedom and justice, who can doubt that to-day American institutions and our boasted American freedom would have been at the mercy of a power that has filled the world with horror and with terror?

England has saved America thus far. We know that in deciding upon her course Great Britain was governed by the sole consideration of her obligation not alone to her own people, but to humanity and to civilization. Her cause was our cause from the first; her war was our war from the first.

I know that I represent all of our people when I say that America desires your countrymen to know that we understand fully the great part which England, modest as she has been in claiming

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the glory, has played in prosecuting this defensive war against autocracy. Her great wealth and her vast resources, her wonderful Navy, her Army of millions of men of unconquerable spirit, every treasure which she possesses, has been placed unselfishly in this great struggle for the preservation of democracy. The world has not been disappointed,—I mean the civilized world, for every nation on earth that is entitled to be called civilized is back of the English Army to-day.

The world has not been disappointed in the effectiveness of the work of the great English Navy. The British fleets have protected the world; they have imprisoned the German Navy and blockaded the German coast. They have swept the German flag off the high seas and made possible the importation of foods and munitions and the transportation of freights from all parts of Britain's extensive domain and even from

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the United States. They have made possible, those British Jackies, the capture of the colonial possessions of Germany. The great achievements of the English Navy have prevented a German victory. The spontaneity and the promptness with which England adjusted her financial and industrial and military affairs—and she has taught us a lesson, too—to meet the conditions unexpectedly thrust upon her, have given cheer and courage to every free government of the world.

The rapid construction of her great Army of millions of as splendid soldiers as the world has ever seen is one of the marvels of the war. Courage, grim determination—oh, we have seen it in the last few days, haven't we? The gallantry and skill exhibited by the British Army even before these last few days, in its masterly retreat from Mons to the Marne, resulted in one of the decisive battles of the war, helped to save

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Paris, and barred the German Army from its great objective of this war.

There is nothing in the conduct of the whole war which illustrates more clearly the vital principles at stake—and it is worth thinking of—than the character of the Englishmen who have participated in these battles. We are apt to forget that at times. It has not been a war of the classes; it has been a war in which Englishmen of every class have discharged their obligations to their country with a patriotic devotion unequalled in all history. Poets—they are not supposed to make good soldiers, but they have—poets, publicists, lawyers, scientists, professors, students, financiers, members of Parliament, sons of the wealthy and aristocratic, as well as of the laboring and industrial classes, have all responded to their country's call and rendered a service which only patriots can perform.

We realize in democratic America

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what the sacrifices of your country have been, and we remember that on the roll of honor, the record of those who have fallen, appear such names as Henderson, Asquith, Kitchener and Gladstone. When this war is finished—and pray God that time shall not come until the issue is determined once and for all—and the historian in the days to come shall reflect upon the part which your country has performed in the determination of that great issue, the service which Great Britain has rendered to humanity and to civilization will be recognized by the whole world, with a keener appreciation of its value, magnitude and significance to mankind than is possible to-day.

I make this brief reference to the achievements of Great Britain because I believe the people of that Government should know that the people of the free governments of the world, of this great free Government on this side of the

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Atlantic, recognize and appreciate the great service she has rendered to civilization, and which she has rendered to us. We do not fail to value the services of other nations fighting with the Allies, and no people have been more generous of the recognition of that service—the service that other nations have rendered—than has Great Britain herself. And we have seen a striking illustration of it here to-night. The spirit of the wonderful people from whom you have come is the spirit of our people now. We did not come into the conflict too soon, but we have not come too late.

In the message which has come from England's Prime Minister the words appear substantially, "after all, the battle is only at its beginning." His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Germany, if he looks for a speedy victory, little understands the spirit of this great nation on this side of the Atlantic.

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The battle is only at the beginning.
Why, the war is only at the beginning!

Privileged, as I am, to speak for this great State,—and I appreciate the honor, and of course I am grateful for it,—with its population of eleven millions, I want to say, as our Toastmaster has said, that when the Federal Government asked us for 122,000 men, which was our quota among the States, we gave 164,000 men. Like all of the other States of this great country of ours, we could not keep them back. We will give the Federal Government 164,000 more, and still another 164,000, and if necessary we will give 164,000 more, and then we shall not have given proportionally as many men to the cause as has England herself.

Representing all of our people, I know that I can say truthfully that their hearts and their hopes go out to the heroes and the martyrs along that battle-front of fifty miles upon which the

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gaze of the world is centered to-night.
We are with them heart and soul.

As fast as it is humanly possible, our sons, too, are on the way, prepared, if need be, to make the supreme sacrifice, that England's holy dead shall not have died in vain. For all of our people, whose hearts are full of gratitude and of admiration for the mighty men of England, I am proud to welcome to our State to-night her great Ambassador.

PRESIDENT LAWRENCE: *Gentlemen, you recognize, I am sure, one who is very far from being a stranger to this Club. It was our privilege to receive him when, as the Governor of this State, he was fighting a most valiant fight. It was our privilege to receive him again when he ascended the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States; and to-night I think we may best greet him as one who typifies as far as any man in the United States, the fine, noble qualities which go to make up the ideal American citizen. I have the privilege to call upon the Honorable Charles E. Hughes.*

ADDRESS BY
HONORABLE CHARLES E. HUGHES

Late Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the
United States; Former Governor of the
State of New York

MR. PRESIDENT, LORD READING, GENTLEMEN OF THE LOTOS CLUB: I am glad of the opportunity to join with you in welcoming the Ambassador of Great Britain. We should extend a very cordial welcome to any one who came to us, particularly at this time, bearing this message of good will and representing here the King of Great Britain. But, however high the dignity of that mission, we count ourselves peculiarly fortunate that Great Britain has honored us by giving her very best. Lord Reading has told you that he is here, not as Lord Chief Justice, but as Ambassador. For the time being he has laid aside the duties of his judicial office. I cannot, however, regard our distinguished guest simply as an Ambassador of Great Britain or as having entirely abandoned the exalted func-

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tions of his judicial office. To me at this time he comes with the highest possible dignity as the exponent of the principles of English law and as one voicing the eternal sentiment of liberty and justice, that sentiment which underlies the institutions of Great Britain and our own. He comes here at this time representing the principle that is at stake in this vital struggle, for the question in the final analysis is whether force shall be the master of men or the servant of the spirit of justice that is within men.

We extend a hearty welcome, but we are not here simply to voice a welcome, — we are here to plight our faith.

It is a time of anxiety which we cannot ignore, but it is not a time of that foreboding which palsies effort; it is a time of solicitude, but yet a time of inflexible determination. And every foot that the forces of Germany advance means that the end cannot be re-

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garded as in the slightest degree uncertain, for with every foot of advance the determination of America becomes stronger that there shall never be defeat for the sacred cause committed to our keeping.

We say that this is a conflict of antagonistic ideals. We say that it is a struggle between competing principles of government. But it is not a conflict between abstractions. The lesson of this hour and of all hours is that the conflict between light and darkness is a conflict between *men*, and the victory lies with the men who are the more resourceful, the more courageous, the more inflexible in their determination, always having in mind that as between two men with apparently equal resources, the one endowed with the sense of justice and imbued with the divine spirit of right brings to the struggle an invincible character which no apparent equality of resources upon the other

side can hope to match. This is the time for testing *men*. To my mind, the most significant thing about the great offensive that the Germans have launched is the fact that they have thought it necessary to launch it. It is quite evident that the slow attrition of continued struggle in the manner in which it was being waged could not be viewed with complacency by the high command in Germany. The fact that it was necessary to resort to this unparalleled sacrifice of life is eloquent of conditions which made it necessary to undertake this great gamble,—with what we know will be a sure loss on the part of the gambler.

Conditions would not permit a mere deadlock, and hence this thrust at—at what? At Paris? At the British and French front? Not alone that, not even chiefly that. It is a thrust at the spirit of France, an attack upon the courage of Great Britain, an attack upon the de-

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termination of America. That is what is meant; and precisely because that is what is meant, it cannot succeed. We read the other day with amazement of a great gun, lodged no one knew precisely where, which managed to throw its shells into Paris. We marveled at this apparent achievement. The gun was aimed at Paris, and the shells reached Paris; but the gun was really aimed at the heart of France,—a target which German skill can never reach.

There is no efficiency in Germany which can contrive any weapon which will reach the indomitable spirit of Great Britain. It is because of the character of the men who are fighting for this principle, and not simply because of the principle itself, that we have confidence at this hour. It is because we know the men of Great Britain, their doggedness, their pertinacity, their inability to yield in the great final test; it is because we know the splendid

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valor of France, the unity of purpose, the clearness of vision of those children of the French Republic, which have endeared her to all our hearts; it is because we can count upon the united efforts of these undaunted Britons and French that we know the attack upon their morale which has been launched by the Germans will prove utterly fruitless. And we know the men of the United States. We know the stuff of which our country is made. At this time the principle of democracy is confided to men who rise tenfold stronger because they have been struck; men who cannot think of defeat. It is only the fatuous and war-mad, such as are in command in Germany, who can dream of a German victory. To us it is an unthinkable thing; and because it is an unthinkable thing alike with British, with French, and with Americans every blow means new force, new courage, new determination. There is not

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an American in the United States to-day who, reading this news from abroad, but has a fresh accession of determination that there will never be, as a successor of the Holy Roman Empire, an unholy German Empire established to dominate the world.

I would not underestimate our difficulties. But I am not one of those disposed every twenty-four hours to examine the ledger account to see if I can discover a debit balance. I am looking for credit balances. There are debits; there are serious debits. We must look facts in the face. The study of facts should not be given over exclusively to pessimists. If we are fit to be trusted with this priceless treasure which we are seeking to defend, this treasure of human liberty and the principle of democratic organization, then we are competent to study facts and retain our ability, after looking them in the face, with full understanding of their import,

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to go forward undaunted to whatever conclusions they demand.

We have a great deal on the credit side of the account. The one thing we need to give an overwhelming credit balance is an appreciation of what we can put on the credit side of the account and a determination to put it there. When Germany launched this offensive, every shell bore the message: "Do you not think we are invincible? What is the use of opposing our skill, our vigor, our efficiency, after years of strife?" Let the response be made with unison and emphasis and in such clear tones that the Kaiser himself cannot fail to understand: "No; you are misled, deceived; you are not invincible. You are throwing away your men and treasure in a vain endeavor to dominate the world. You cannot succeed. Great Britain, France, America and Italy are indissolubly united to make sure that you never will succeed. There is but

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one issue, let the war last as long as it may, and that issue will be this, 'You will never dominate the world!' ”

We have had before our vision the very beautiful picture of a league of nations establishing the foundations of an abiding peace giving security to treaties and to international law. We have dreamed that out of this terrible struggle we might be able to secure international institutions affording an opportunity for the development of international law as a true body of law, opportunity for conferences, for conciliation, for the judicial settlement of disputes. Do we expect to be able to realize that dream?

Now is the accepted time; *now* is the day of salvation. If there is aught in that beautiful picture, if we can surmount the many difficulties which will at once occur to the analyst, it will be only because that while thinking of a league of nations for the future we put

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now into effect a league of nations with a true unity of purpose at this time to resist the aggressions of force, to establish the sanctity of treaties and the security of public law,—because at this time we prove our ability to act without divisions of counsel, without permitting anything to disturb our movement together to the fulfilment of our common purpose.

Let us have, now and for the hereafter, a league—a strong and effective league—of those attached to the same democratic principles; as Lord Reading has said, not for the purpose of aggression, not to further dynastic ambition, not to accomplish any selfish aim, but in order that we may make the world secure in liberty and law. May we have now, and not simply in the future, a true league of nations entitled to call themselves civilized, who are determined to make enduring those principles of justice in international rela-

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tions without which there is no hope of liberty, without which there is no prospect for free peoples, without which national progress is a delusion, and without which individual liberty itself would be absolutely without protection.

I have read, as you have read, during the last two or three days the announcements from the other side which have disclosed such an appalling waste of life and of treasure in this vain effort of the enemy, but I have had a feeling of gratitude, after all, that this offensive has been launched. If anything were needed to reëstablish our will, if anything were needed to brace us to the furthest limits of exertion, it has now been furnished. Oh, we shall have our troubles, but we shall meet them as the British have met them, as the French have met them!

In welcoming Lord Reading to-night, we welcome opportunity. What is life

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without opportunity? Life in its routine means but little. It is the supreme moment of test that counts. A republic that could not descry the menace to its essential interests could not endure. A democracy that could not realize the existence of a crisis and the absolute necessity of exerting all its powers for its preservation could not have any hope of permanence.

This is the day of test for America, but it is the day of priceless opportunity, and those who to-day spend their treasure and give their blood in this sacred cause will have their memory perpetuated for all time as the true defenders of freedom, the true children of our institutions, those whom our fathers have taught the simple lessons of trust, sincere trust in Almighty God, and in the principles of justice that He has put in the hearts of men.

PRESIDENT LAWRENCE: *Gentlemen, I shall next call upon an old member of the Club, Colonel George Harvey, and when he speaks he always says something unexpected.*

ADDRESS BY
COLONEL GEORGE HARVEY

Editor of The North American Review

AS we meet to-night to pay tribute to our distinguished guest we may well recognize at the outset that the time, though filled with anxious hours as it is, could not be more fitting, because it is the day of England's greatest glory in the service of mankind. Never before in her long career has she, never before in the history of the world has any nation, stood more nobly for all that makes life worth living. Pausing first as I do, and as our guest would have me to do, to salute with gratitude and with reverence our sister France, we all must realize that at this moment, through force of circumstance, the highest honor rightfully attaches to our mother England. Well might our President express to that undaunted host the admiration of the American people of their "splendid steadfastness and

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valor," and breathe "a perfect confidence" that they will emerge from the frightful conflict victorious. That we should be bearing so small a portion of the mighty burden is naturally a source of deepest grief; but if, as I believe, this is but the beginning of the war, we have yet time to do our full part in a manner worthy of the race from which we sprang. The remark has been attributed to Napoleon that England invariably loses every battle—except the last one. When history shall repeat itself let us of America not only hope and pray but make certain through our unflagging endeavors that, in the final day of triumph, we stand in adequate numbers, shoulder to shoulder, with those resolute British lads who are fighting to the last ditch to-day to save our lives, our wives, our daughters, and our little children just as surely as they are fighting to save their own.

It would be idle, illusive and harm-

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ful to pretend to regard our work of the past year with satisfaction. Who, twelve months ago, would have believed it possible that now we should have begun and finished but two ships and should have in France not one new big gun, not a single battle-plane, and so small a number of American soldiers? Though we have not failed, we have stumbled sadly. That we all know. But I would not dwell upon the deficiencies of the past. Let us rather turn our eyes to the future in confident anticipation that, though we have profited less than we might have hoped from the mistakes of others, we may from this day forward profit from our own. Primarily, at any rate, we may rest assured that the world is not coming to an end immediately, and that if William the Damned continues blasphemously to rely upon the Almighty, he is surely doomed. What above all else we should take to our hearts, as we enter

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upon this second year of warfare, is the homely old adage that God helps those who help themselves.

We have acted or have failed to act too long upon the fallacious notion that our belated entrance signalized an early ending of the war. The lesson derived from that false theory we now have learned. Let us then provide at once for an army not of one million nor of two millions, but of five millions as a minimum, and, so far as lies within our power, in due time, of ten millions of men, and let us pay no further heed to either the terms or the time of peace. Let us make no more futile attempts to differentiate between Huns who command and Huns who murder. Let us put aside every compassionate thought and crush under heel every kindly sentiment. Let our one and only motto be: Kill Germans; kill them in the greatest numbers possible and by every conceivable honor-

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able means, not as fellow beings, but as mad dogs who must be made to realize that they who take the sword must perish by the sword. It is the only way.

“We accepted this war,” said Abraham Lincoln at another crucial period in our national progress. “We did not begin it. We accepted it for an object, and when that object is accomplished the war will end, and I hope to God it will never end until that object is accomplished.”

“Let there be no misunderstanding,” said President Wilson. “Our present and immediate task is to win the war, and nothing shall turn us aside until it is accomplished. Every power and resource we possess, whether of men, of money, or of materials, is being devoted to that purpose until it is achieved.”

In echoing these two great utterances, upon which we must take our stand irrevocably, let each and every

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one of us declare solemnly with George Washington, "I am ready for any service that I can give to my country."

We cannot all take places upon the battle-field. We can only send those whom we love better than ourselves and await in constant anguish, as some of us here do await to-night, the possible arrival at any moment of the dreaded message.

But there are things that we can do, and to hardly less purpose. To my mind, as I behold the situation in Washington, the chief menace at home is the injection of political partisanship. Already the minds and energies of a great number of those to whom we have entrusted the conduct of affairs are being diverted to the coming fall campaign. Practically all measures are approached from the viewpoint of personal ambition. Presently large sums of money will be raised and expended, animosities will arise, passions will be

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stirred and the whole country will be in a turmoil at a time when it should be possessed of but one all-engrossing thought and purpose.

Gentlemen, there ought not to be a Federal election this fall. It is not necessary that there should be one. The matter is one wholly of arrangement and can easily be effected by the leaders of the two great parties, if they will but face the situation in a generously patriotic spirit. It might not be feasible or proper to attempt to deprive the sovereign States of their chief prerogative in the election of Senators, although even this could be done without possibly affecting the result with respect to many; but there is no practical or legal reason why the present membership of the House of Representatives could not or should not be continued as it now stands. The popular branch is now and ought to be in harmony with the Executive. No conceivable ad-

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vantage could accrue to the country from changing its political complexion.

Doing so would serve only to substitute confusion and discord for the fixed and definite responsibility which now exists. Certain members should be beaten, but their number is few, their names are known, and they are recognized through their acts of infidelity to the country which they dishonor. Against these the two great parties should unite and consign them to the oblivion and disgrace from which they never should have emerged.

True, we must observe the form of an election, but there should be but one issue—loyalty to country, to civilization and to God. Thus we should achieve the unity so greatly needed, worth more than a corps of soldiers or a dozen battle-ships, and without which we might ultimately even fail. The plan is wholly practicable. It is inconceivable that the President would not welcome it. If

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the politicians should draw back, it would remain only for the people, men such as you, throughout the land, to rise in their patriotism and ardent desire to help win the war, to compel its adoption. That is one thing, gentlemen, which you and those like you can do. Why don't you?

So much has been said of Lord Reading, and so truly and graciously said, that I could hope only to indulge in thankless repetition. No man, some one has remarked, can be complete unless he have both a vocation and an avocation, and it often happens that he profits from a definite reversal of the two. Let us hope that Lord Reading, whose vocation is the law and justice and whose avocation is diplomacy and friendship, may find this aphorism to be true, and so rejoice our hearts by remaining with us, to our infinite satisfaction, for many, many years.

PRESIDENT LAWRENCE: *His Lordship will now
say a few words by way of "Good Night."*

LORD READING: Mr. President, I should ill repay this distinguished gathering for its reception of my country to-night if I detained you for any length of time. I am grateful, however, for the opportunity which is afforded to me of thanking you in all earnestness and sincerity for this evening, for the beautiful and eloquent speeches which have been delivered by your countrymen, for the gracious and graceful things which have been said about my country, for the observations which have been so kindly in their reference to myself.

I shall leave here this evening full of the message of confidence, hope, and, indeed, implicit faith in the result of the conflict which is now proceeding. I shall take the earliest opportunity of transmitting it to my countrymen, so that they may know what happened at

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a meeting of a club in New York, when throughout the evening I have indeed felt in my innermost heart that you and we were bound together in a common cause for which we deem it right to fight and, if necessary, to die.

I thank you from the bottom of my heart.





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